

RELEASE UPON DELIVERY

ADDRESS BY J. STROM THURMOND, GOVERNOR OF
SOUTH CAROLINA AND STATES' RIGHTS DEMOCRATIC
CANDIDATE FOR PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES,
AT CHARLOTTESVILLE, VA., OCTOBER 7, 1948.

MY FELLOW AMERICANS:

My trip to the great Commonwealth of Virginia has been a source of new inspiration in our fight to preserve and protect the ideals and principles which so largely came from the early leaders of this state. It is always an inspiring experience to visit the shrines of democracy that exist in almost every village in Virginia.

Ever since the States' Rights Democrats first offered the American people an opportunity to express their opposition to a trend in American political affairs which goes counter to the best ideals of democracy, the response from the people of Virginia has been overwhelming. But that response has been no surprise to me.

The State of Virginia is the very cradle of American liberty. The names of her heroes are inseparable from the history of democratic freedom, and the principles by which they lived and died are the ideals we cherish today. Her very motto--"sic semper tyrannis"-- "thus always with tyrants"--might be the motto of our movement today.

Throughout the years your leaders have been in the forefront among those who insist upon the preservation of the rights of states, as contrasted with dangerous centralization in the federal government. I know that the people of Virginia are not willing to sacrifice the constitutional guarantees which are so essential to our American liberties.

One of the most critical hours in American history is at hand. The people of the United States today are faced with a decision which will affect all their liberties, and the very way in

which
/they live, for generations to come. That decision is so important that it outranks all the vital issues of domestic and foreign policy with which so many people are concerned.

For 160 years the American people have flourished under a form of government which has given them greater liberties than mankind has ever know. Today, they must decide whether they are willing to surrender that form of government to a new kind of all-powerful police state. They must decide, for once and for all, whether they will maintain their government as a union of 48 free states, or convert it into a single state with all power centered at Washington.

When the founding fathers gave this nation its Constitution, they gave the world a new kind of government. It not only embodied all the democratic systems of checks and balances already proved and tested, but it also laid down a principle which was entirely new. That principle declared that the field of personal, individual freedom shall never be controlled by the central government. For the first time in history, government was denied the right to rule the individual.

The only reason, said our ancestors, for our having a central government is to protect and defend the rights we already have.

Today, the rights of the states, and the rights of the individual in America, are in mortal danger.

There are forces at work in this country today which are seeking to lead our people down the same pathway to the total state that was traveled by the people of Germany, the people of Italy, and the people of Russia. Those forces are working, not only in the Communist-directed Progressive Party of Henry Wallace, but in the Truman-Democratic Party and the Dewey-Republican Party.

All three of these candidates, whether by ignorance or by design, have committed themselves to principles which would undermine the American way of life, and which would outrage the Bill of Rights. All three have entered upon the road to a dangerous centra-

lization of power in the Federal Government, and to absolute destruction of the right of home rule and local self-government.

The power these three candidates propose to delegate to Washington is the power that now rests with your local city and county officials, and with your representatives in your own state government. If their plans are carried out, your home county will be a shadow, and your home state a mockery.

For three decades, great Americans who know the true basis upon which our freedom rests, have warned us that we must stop the wholesale grabbing of power by Washington. Constitutional lawyers, judges, supreme court judges -- even some of our Presidents -- have seen the handwriting on the wall. Some outstanding Americans from Virginia have warned time and again that the Federal Government is going too far.

But the American people as a whole, occupied with depressions and wars, have done little to stop the flow of power to Washington. Today, the tide of public opinion is turning. Americans everywhere are waking up at last. And the alarm clock that is rousing them is a program -- endorsed by Truman, Dewey, and Wallace -- which represents the greatest single assault upon their individual freedoms and the rights of states ever made in this country.

During the last few months the American people have witnessed a terrible spectacle. They have seen the greedy bosses of three political parties repudiate the rights of states to make a cheap bid for the votes of a minority faction which promised to help swing an election.

A dirty political bargain such as this is exactly what we might have expected from the Wallace Progressives. And we could not have been surprised when the Republicans, hungry for power after so many years of playing second fiddle, yielded to the pressure of a powerful bloc. But when the leaders of the great Democratic Party

prostrated themselves before the demands of a narrow, selfish group, our hearts were heavy with shame.

But we would not stand idly by and see the ideals of the Democratic Party scorned and ridiculed for the sake of political power. Out of the humiliation of that shameful convention at Philadelphia there came a great resolve. Out of the appearance of defeat there was born the determination that will make American ideals victorious.

The States' Rights Democrats oppose this political treachery.
We will not remain silent while the principles of American democracy
are perverted, violated, and destroyed!

When the big-city machine bosses made their sorry bid for the minority vote By forcing the Democratic Party to adopt the so-called civil rights plank, they placed the Party on record as promising to give the Federal Government power over the American people undreamed of, even by Alexander Hamilton.

In the wild scramble to outbid the Republican Party and Henry Wallace for the minority vote, fundamental principles of government were sacrificed.

That collectivist crew which joined the big-city bosses in taking over the Democratic convention aimed their principal attack at the Southern states. They believed that no amount of vilification and abuse would cause the South to resist. But in their mad haste they forgot that the Southern people have a history of loyalty to principle reaching back to the very birth of the Democratic Party.

Now that they know the error of their ways, now that they know the strength of purpose of our movement, the big-city bosses are growling in their anger like the dog that didn't get the bone. Because the South dared to uphold the political doctrine which has made this the greatest nation on earth, these big bosses are now trying to read us out of the Party.

In the next few weeks you will hear a lot more of that kind of thing. But when you hear it, just remember the source.

Ask yourself whether the sneers, the abuse, and the threats are not coming either from the machine bosses or from the reds, the subversives, or the parlor pinks.

Remember that at Philadelphia the Democratic Party was taken over by a queer amalgamation.

The Hagues and the Humphreys got together and took over at Philadelphia. And they tossed the political ideals of Jefferson, Jackson, and Wilson out the window.

But the American people, whether they live in the South, the West, the East, or the North, are not going to permit a bunch of vote-hungry politicians to barter away their constitutional rights and liberties to win an election.

I promise you that before this campaign is over, the spirit that built this Republic will march triumphant again. We are going to drive from the temple of government the Hagues, the Humphreys, the Kellys, the Pendergasts, and all their stooges. And in driving them from their positions of power we must see to it that they are not replaced by the Grundys and the Pews.

Those who debauched our Party, those who butchered the ideals which made it great, and those who stabbed the loyal South in the back will be stripped of their power, and the Democratic Party will be born again!

The current assault upon the American way of life would have its sharpest effects in the South. But the methods are of equal danger to the fundamental rights of people in every state in the Union. States' rights are the only genuine obstacle to the rise of socialism or communism in America. There can be no socialization of this nation, and there can be no communistic or social regime in America as long as we uphold and maintain the checks and balances of government which our founding fathers so wisely wrote in the Constitution.

Until the higher leadership of our political parties, of whatever name, learn this elemental fact, the liberties of Americans will be in danger. Until the people can restore to this country the type of

leadership that it had in 1787, they cannot be certain that their democratic rights will be protected.

The fact that three Presidential candidates today have endorsed a program which would violate the Constitution, is enough to bring shame and dismay to the good name of the United States. It is enough to delight every Red and every Fellow Traveler on the globe.

The Reds will applaud if the Anti-Poll Tax Bill is passed, because they know it will usurp the right of the states to establish voting qualifications.

They will dance a jig of joy if the Anti-Lynching Bill goes through the Congress, because they know it will mean that the central Federal Government is taking over functions of state courts and state legislatures that now have the exclusive right to deal with crimes occurring within the states.

The Reds will be especially happy if the Anti-Segregation proposals are forced upon the South, for they have long ago chosen the South as a section for stirring up the kind of racial discord that will serve their evil purposes.

And how pleased the Communists would be to find the FEPC bill forced on this country. They know that Stalin used a bill almost exactly like the American version to lift himself to power back in 1920. And they know that this law would set a terrible precedent by which the federal government could seize the right to regulate private business and private employment within the states.

Perhaps the Communists would like best of all the enforcement features of these proposals, which would require a national police force that would usurp the functions of local police and sheriffs. It is by means of a national police force that Stalin keeps himself in power.

A careful study of the so-called Fair Employment Practices Act shows very clearly how the Communists would use this law to place their agents and saboteurs into the secret places of our national defense

program, including our atomic laboratories. While the FEPC pretends to give employment opportunities to Negroes and other racial groups, it actually provides a slick method by which any Communist could get a job in any munitions plant he chose.

The FEPC bill -- Senate Bill S.984 -- gives the Commission authority to make its own rules and regulations as to what is unlawful in hiring employees. To get an idea of what those rules will be, let us examine some of the unlawful acts set up by the FEPC in New York, where Tom Dewey already has it in effect.

Under the New York law it is unlawful for an employer to ask an applicant the following questions:

What his former name was if he had changed it.

Where he was born, and where his parents were born.

Whether he has a birth certificate.

What religious denomination he belongs to.

Whether he will follow the rules of the employer in observing only certain holidays -- such as the 4th of July or Christmas Day.

What his complexion is, or ever to produce a photograph, if he should apply in writing.

Whether he is a naturalized or a native-born citizen, or that he produce his naturalization papers.

Where his family lives, or where they came from.

And here is one requirement of the New York law that I wish every veteran in America could read. It is unlawful to ask an applicant for employment what his military experience is, or where he was during World War I. He might have been a draft-dodger, or he might have been shooting at our boys overseas, but you're not allowed to ask him about that.

Not only are the employers required to follow this communistic law, but the working man himself is forced to comply. Under the proposed national FEPC, an employee who refuses to work at a bench or a loom beside someone he does not like is subject to fine and imprisonment.

Does this sound like an American concept to you? It is perfectly obvious that this law -- which is the first plank in the platform of the Communists -- would be used by them to aid their designs upon our national security.

Yet this unconstitutional and un-American proposal is an iron-clad platform promise made by Harry Truman, Tom Dewey, and Henry Wallace.

Only the States' Rights Democrats -- and we alone -- have the moral courage to stand up to the Communists and tell them this foreign doctrine will not work in free America!

I hope you good people of Virginia will remember that the vicious FEPC is not only endorsed by Truman and Wallace, but by Tom Dewey and Earl Warren. Dewey claims credit for its adoption in New York -- where the people never voted on it. Warren tried to force it on California--where the people did vote and rejected it. I uphold their right to sponsor this law in their own states, if the people of those states want it.

But I stand on the assertion that Truman, Dewey, and Wallace have no right to force this Communistic law upon all the states of this nation!

The States' Rights Democrats are confident that the people of Virginia will join with us in casting out the evil influences that have infested our political parties today. We are confident that you will join us in bringing about the rebirth of the Democratic Party and restoring it to its historical function of preserving the rights of states. We are confident that you will join us in crystallizing sentiment against the un-American proposals of these three candidates for President.

Our movement is gaining such overwhelming support that we expect to win more than 100 electoral votes, and perhaps to prevent any candidate from securing a majority in the Electoral College. In that event, the smaller states will hold a balance of power which can be used in the House of Representative to choose a President who

will uphold their rights.

In a land where the ballot is free, political salvation is also free.

Political salvation is ours if we want it. Let us rise up and take advantage of our opportunity in this election, so that our children and generations yet unborn, may enjoy a better South and a better America.

##